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(Rough translation)

THE PRESERVATION OF JAPAN'S SPECIAL POSITION  
IN MANCHURIA AND MONGOLIAOutline of the China Policy set  
forth by Prime Minister Tanaka  
before the Eastern Conference.

The last session of the Eastern Conference was opened on the 7th, at 2:20 p.m. at the Foreign Minister's official residence, Kasumigaseki. All the members were present. Following a report on the progress of the conference by Director of the Asiatic Affairs Bureau Kimura, General Tanaka, in the capacity of Prime Minister and concurrently Foreign Minister, addressed the meeting as follows, setting forth an outline of the China policy. Governor General Kodama made a speech in reply. The Conference closed at 3:30 o'clock.

The underlying aim of our policy toward China is to ensure the peace of the Far East and to realize the common prosperity and well-being of Japan and China. As regards the means of executing this policy, the lines of action will naturally differ between China proper on the one hand and Manchuria and Mongolia on the other, in view of Japan's special position in the Far East. The essentials of the immediate steps to be taken on the basis of this fundamental policy are as follows:--

1. The most urgent need of the day is the stabilization of China's internal political situation and restoration of order. But the best way of achieving this end is to leave the task in the hands of the Chinese people themselves. Accordingly, in respect of the Chinese civil strife and turmoil, we must respect the popular will, withing siding with any party or faction. Above all, we must scrupulously refrain from involving ourselves in the manoeuvres and movements among the various factions.

2. Japan should extend sympathetic cooperation toward the fulfillment in a rational and progressive way of the legitimate national aspirations arising from the awakening of the moderate elements, and in this respect we should collaborate with other Powers as far as possible. Again, a peaceful economic development of China is desired most fervently alike by Chinese and foreigners, and it will require the friendly cooperation of all Powers as well as self-exertion of the Chinese people.

3. The above objectives are, after all, attainable only upon the formation of a strong central government, which, judged from the existing political situation, seems quite difficult of realization. All we can do for the time being is to maintain due contact with the moderate regimes and wait for the development of the trend toward national unification.

4. Such being the case, if there should be established independent regimes in the south and in the north, or several regimes in different parts of China, Japan's attitude toward these regimes should be, as a matter of fact, exactly the same. And in case, under such circumstances, there should develop a movement for the formation of a common regime from the standpoint of China's foreign relations, Japan, with the other Powers, should welcome the emergence of such a regime, regardless of where it may happen to be, and declare her intention to help the growth of the regime as a unified government.

5. Meanwhile, in the midst of China's political unrest there will quite likely be the danger of possible international complication through the activities of lawless elements. The Japanese government hopes that the suppression of such elements and the preservation of order will be effected through the action of the Chinese authorities and the self-awakening of the Chinese people. But, in case Japan's rights and interests, and Japanese lives and property are jeopardized illegally, our government will be compelled to take such decisive steps of self-protection as may be required.

6. Especially, as regards those who wantonly take to anti-Japanese movements on the basis of unfounded rumours concerning Sino-Japanese relations, we will have to take positive and proper measures for the protection of our rights and interests, while taking effective steps to dissipate such doubts and apprehensions.

7. In Manchuria and Mongolia, especially in the three Eastern Provinces, Japan has vital interests from the standpoint of national defence and national existence. Therefore, we must give special consideration. Moreover, that region being contiguous to Japan, we feel our responsibility for its economic development and maintenance of peace there to make it a place safe for both Chinese and foreigners alike. To promote the economic activities of all peoples throughout the region from north to south according to the principle of the open door and equal opportunity, is to accelerate its peaceful development. Accordingly, the protection of our rights and interests and the solution of pending issues must be sought in line with such a policy. It is believed best to leave the political stabilization of the three Eastern Provinces to be achieved by those provinces through their own efforts. The Japanese government should support those provinces in any measures they may take to safeguard the special position of Japan in Manchuria and Mongolia and to stabilize the political situation there.

8. If, by any chance, the disturbance should spread to Manchuria and Mongolia, and menace Japan's special position and interests, Japan must be prepared to combat such a menace regardless of where it may originate, and to take a timely and appropriate step in order to preserve the region as a place safe for both Chinese and foreigners to live in and work.

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